8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4



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do-matriliny" arising from short-term matrilocal residence may have occurred, such as unsuccessful warfare, migration, and the breakdown of traditional kinship alignments. It is suggested that patri-organization was largely strengthened by events following the cessation of intensive warfare after the middle of the eighteenth century. A new stability was then achieved, population gradually approached the estimated pre-Spanish figure, and (with the introduction of the reservation system in 1866, and later in a revised form after the last Mapuche rebellion) the status of kinship heads or caciques increased, insofar as they were given title to land and became the mediators between their kin groups and the Chilean officials. Population movement lessened and the Indians became hemmed in by reservation boundaries. Still, population pressure had not yet become a problem, and stability brought increased wealth and an elaboration of social and ceremonial customs in which the male role and the patrilineal line were exalted. Precedents for the elaboration of the patrilineal structure can be seen throughout recorded Araucanian history. Important among these are the tendency to disregard generation in the WiBrDa marriage, and the complementary situation in which generation is broken in the inheritance of avuncular duties by MoBrSo. Murdock (1949:168) considers these factors to be likely steps toward the development of the Omaha system, and the evolution of Araucanian society is a case in point. In the Cholchol region there seems to have been the milieu conducive to the development of this tendency and its expression in Omaha terminology.

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to apply the technique suggested by Murdock for reconstruction of the type of kinship systems which may have existed in the recorded and unrecorded past (Murdock 1949:323-352).

Working from the premise that the Omaha pattern represents the latest and fullest development of patrilineal organization, we have the possibility that this system was preceded by a Dakota type, the criteria for which are: Iroquois cousin terminology, patrilineal descent, and patrilocal residence. These conditions are met in Diagram 3 and in the descriptive material pertaining to the period. According to Murdock, Dakota may possibly be preceded by Normal Guinea. This choice seems to be borne out on the basis of the existence of patri-organization and the handling of cousins. It is represented in the terminology recorded by Febrés and Havestadt in Diagram 2. The logical precursor of Normal Guinea, on the basis of cousin terminology and the merging of FaSi, Mo, and MoSi, is Patri-Hawaiian. This may be satisfied by the terminology collected by Valdivia (Diagram 1), suggesting that there may have been a bilateral bias to pre-Spanish Araucanian society.

## NOTES

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[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Charitable Foundation for granting the fellowship which made possible a year's field research in Chile.

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[2] The step-parental role must have been quite important, for the earliest histories mention numerous orphans in the Araucanian settlements. It is not clear if the number of orphans was very large under Inca control or was due to Spanish labor exploitation, but the situation surely worsened during the Spanish colonization.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 195?
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously
[845] noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Cañaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed
848 by its mother. She is known to do so in Cañaripe area. "A daughter of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

### COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three
158 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Cañaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

### ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted
736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor-
593 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Chilean orphanage.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile



pastoring them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

### HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confidence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. However, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche



compound of joint-extended family arrangement. Even so, this is a variation within the rule of patrilocality, *if* the reservation community is taken as the frame of reference.

A break with the patrilocal rule occasionally occurs and may be termed matrilocal residence. This pattern seems of greater structural significance than the finer variations within the patrilocal pattern; and matrilocal residence seems to depend almost wholly on conditions engendered by the reservation system. It is both a relatively modern phenomenon and an infrequently encountered living arrangement, although patterned and sanctioned. The Mapuche recognize it as an infringement of the patrilocal rule. Situational factors determine whether it is welcomed, tolerated, or resisted in any reservation. It generally occurs in cases where the husband has no land of his own and the wife has a claim to land on her natal reservation.

With divorce or widowhood a Mapuche woman may look to her natal group for support and protection and, as a rule, is able to return to her father's or brother's house to live and rear her small children. This has long been Mapuche practice. On the one hand it reflects the duties of the lineage group toward a member or, more personally stated, the obligations of a father to his daughter or a brother to his sister. In the past it seems that such women did not remarry (i.e. enter another union in which bridewrice was paid) and remained on their natal reservation. If they remarried, they emigrated or, more commonly, remained on their husband's reservation and established a new household with one of his actual or lineage brothers, under the system of widow inheritance. Widow inheritance, properly speaking, does not constitute remarriage, since no additional bridewrice is paid for rights over the woman.

At the time of the registration of reservations, women as well as men were enrolled on the government lists. Since that time, at least, the Mapuche have accorded theoretical rights in land to women so registered (but not to their descendants or to women born after registration). While these rights cannot always be validated, their admission, among other things, has conditioned Mapuche thinking to the extent that women who remain on their natal reservation (under certain circumstances) are given *de facto* use rights to plots of land. These women are usually

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche



tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.